ANGLO-NORMAN SETTLEMENT IN CONNACHT
IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY *by Helen Peros (pages 1 – 6)*

It was not until 1235, more than sixty-five years after the arrival of the Anglo-Normans in Ireland, that the English crown allowed the conquest of Connacht to take place. John had granted Connacht to William de Burgh in about 1195, but in 1203-4 had terminated William's efforts to make good his grant. Henry III had subjected William's son and heir. Richard, to the same treatment. granting him Connacht in 1227 and removing him from it in 1232-3. Both kings had feared that the conqueror of such a remote area would be difficult to control. However, by the 1230s, means of safeguarding royal interests there had been devised. There were royal castles at Athlone and Rindown, to the south and on the western shore of Lough Ree. and five cantreds to the west of the Shannon had been reserved to the crown. In 1234 Henry III restored Connacht to de Burgh for a fine of 3,000 marks, increased his annual rent and service to 500 marks and 20 knights, and urged him to exert himself strenuously to take possession of the land. (1).

The 1235 invasion of Connacht was one of the largest and most spectacular military operations undertaken by the Anglo Normans in Ireland. Barons from virtually every part of the Lordship led forces into Connacht,

there were detours into Breifne, Thomond and Tir Conaill; and Irish allies brought boats for the Anglo-Normans to use in the fighting that spilled over onto the islands of Clew Bay. But the most dramatic action took place in Lough Key, where Mac Dermot's Rock was besieged by a ship-borne siege engine and. more successfully, by numerous burning rafts. However, the king of Connacht was not entirely dispossessed. In 1235 and again in 1237. After more fighting, Felirn O'Connor agreed to hold the five cantreds west of the Shannon of the English king. (2)

In 1236 Richard de Burgh built a castle at Loughrea, establishing his headquarters in Connacht. (3) His principal tenants did likewise the following year. *The Annals of Connacht* record that in 1237 'The Irish Barons *(Baruin na hErenn)* came into Connacht and began the building of castles therein' and that in 1238 'Castles were built in Muinter Murchada and Conrnaicne Cuile and Carra by the aforesaid Barons'. These three areas lay in a line up the centre of Connacht. to the east of Loughs Comb, Mask and Carra in what today is north Co. Galway and south Co. Mayo. Walter de Ridelsford, who held Muinter Murchada, must have built Athmekin (Headford) castle at this time;

Matthew fitz Griffin, who held half of Conrnaicne Cuile, must have built Shrule castle then; and Adam de Staunton, who held Carra, probably built Castlecarra castle at this time.(4)

The term 'the *Barons of Ireland'* is striking. Not only were the Anglo-Normans well established in Ireland by this time, their expansion into Connacht seems to have received little or no reinforcement from outside the country. Some of them had been in Ireland long enough to acquire a provincial identity. The annals tell of a terrible slaughter inflicted on *'the Welsh and Leinstermen of West Connacht'* in 1266. (5) The Leinstermen were probably the settlers that de Ridelsford, fitzGriffin and de Staunton had brought into Connacht: all three were Leinster barons. The Welsh, on the other hand, obviously retained a strong Welsh identity after years of residence in Ireland. It is not clear that annals are referring to the famous Welshmen of Tirawley here, but Barrett and Walsh family Tradition, as recorded in the sixteenth century, links at least some of the Welshmen of Tirawley with Maurice fitz Gerald (d. 1176), one of the earliest Anglo-Norman settlers in Ireland. (6)

The Anglo-Normans were seasoned settlers by the time they moved into Connacht, but they were not set in their ways: mottes, which are so common in the east of the country, are rare in Connacht. (7) Richard de Burgh seems to have set the tone with a business-like approach to settlement. His strategy was to establish manors for himself in the south and to grant most of the rest of Connacht away. His manors were conveniently close to the ones he had in Cos. Limerick and Tipperary, with Meelick on the Shannon providing a crucial link. Also, both

Meelick and his principal manor at Loughrea were on the best agricultural land in Connacht. Galway was selected because of its potential as a port. De Burgh also built (or rather rebuilt) Hen's Castle in Lough Corrib and Hag's Castle in Lough Mask, probably to protect both Galway and his vassals to the east of these lakes. (8)

The delegation of responsibility inherent in feudalism greatly facilitated the settlement process. We have seen how de Ridelsford, fitz Griffin and de Staunton began to build settlements on the land that de Burgh had granted them. Other grantees would follow. Several of them, such as Maurice fitz Gerald, Peter de Bermingham, John de Cogan and Gerald de Prendergast, were already important lords in other parts of Ireland. They had the resources to invest in new lands. It is evident that Anglo-Norman settlement had taken place in many parts of Connacht by the end of the 1240s. The process would continue in the 1250s; more remote parts of Connacht may not have seen settlers until the 1260s and 70s. There was, of course, considerable subinfeudation. Hugh de Lacy granted away all five of the cantreds he received from de Burgh, but most of de Burgh's tenants established settlements on at least part of the land they received. Some ended up with extensive holdings in Connacht. The greatest of them was Maurice fitz Gerald. He not only established settlements at Ardrahan and Kilcolgan on land in Co. Galway that de Burgh had given him, he also created settlements at Loughmask and Ballinrobe in south Co. Mayo, and at Banada, Ardcree and Sligo in Co. Sligo, on land that he had received from others. (9)

Younger sons and younger brothers also profited from the colonisation of Connacht.

The best known case is that of Peter de Bermingham's younger son, Meiler, who established what would become a thriving town at Athenry. Co. Galway. (10) Mayo also provides good examples of the same process, even if we do not know all the details. The names of three baronies in Mayo indicate the impact junior branches had. 'Burrishoole' is named after the borough that a collateral branch of the Butlers established in Umhall; 'Clanmorris' would seem to be named after the de Prendergast who established a junior branch of the family in what was then called Crích Fer Trre; *'Costello'* comes from the Irish name for the de Angulo family (Mac Costello, i.e.. son of Jocelin) who settled in what was then called Sliabh Lugha. In this case the junior branch seems to have become established only after the father, Miles, died in 1259. (11)

Connacht was a land of opportunity for many, as the substantial Welsh settlement in Tirawley indicates. Even Anglo-Normans with lands elsewhere in Ireland put down roots in Connacht. Jordan de Exeter, lord of Affane. Co. Waterford, seems to have made his manor at Athlethan, (Ballylahan) in the centre of Co. Mayo, his principal place of residence. He built a castle and established a borough with a weekly market and annual fair there, and he (or his son) founded a Dominican friary a few miles away at Strade. It was possibly in this friary that the thirteenth century Anglo-Norman chronicle known as *'the Annals of Multyfarnham'* was written. (12) De Exeter served as sheriff of Connacht in 1249 and again in 1258 when he was killed on an island off the west coast fighting Mac Sorley of the Hebrides whose fleet had robbed a merchant ship off Connemara of its cargo of wine, copper, cloth and iron. (13) Anglo-Norman Connacht was prosperous enough to attract both merchant ships and pirate fleets. There was also competition among the Anglo-Normans there, as numerous lawsuits attest. It was particularly intense in Mayo in the late-1240s to mid-1250s, when William Barrett used force in his conflict with Adam le Cusack and Adam le Petit over Bredagh, and in 1281, when the Barretts and the Cusacks fought against each other in a battle at Moyne. (14) In Connacht as a whole, there was a fierce power struggle between the de Burghs and Geraldines in the 1260s and 1290s. (15)

The lordship of Connacht was very much the creation of Richard, son ofWilliam de Burgh. He had come of age in 1214 but had not been allowed to become involved in Connacht until 1226-7. In many ways he was very Anglo-Norman. After his father died in 1205, when he was about nine, he seems to have spent some time in England with his uncle, the powerful Hubert de Burgh, who had been in John's service since the 1190s and was justiciar of England from 1215 to 1232. (16) Richard seems to have been in King John's entourage as a member of Hubert's household from *'at least June* to *September* 1215'. (17) He was thus close to the action during a very formative time in England's constitutional development, the granting of Magna Carta. Magna Carta is dated June 15, but peace was not concluded between John and his barons until June 19, the day that Richard's uncle Hubert was appointed justiciar. (18) Richard later married Walter de Lacy's daughter, Egidea, ending an old Anglo-Norman rivalry in Ireland, and he died on the king's service in Poitou in 1243. (19) However. there was a Gaelic-Irish side to Richard too. His mother is thought to have been one of Donal O'Brien's daughters, and she evidently taught him Irish. (20) A bardic poem was written

for him by one of the masters of the art., the famous early thirteenth century poet, Muireadhach Ó Dalaigh. The poet addresses Richard when he is a young man, before he had acquired Connacht, and he opens the poem by commenting on the two cultures at Richard's court in Castleconnell,Co. Limerick:

Whence comes it that ye have guests from afar,
O youth of foreign beauty,
O ye who are become Gaelic, yet foreign, young,
graceful and highborn?
This band that is in your house, that is come to you
from afar, they were wont to quaff wine from the
hand of kings or knights.

Although the poet emphasises de Burgh's foreigness, he recognises his right to Connacht by proclaiming. 'Thine is Meadhbh's mighty Cruacha', referring to Maeve's stronghold at Rathcroghan. Co. Roscommon.(21) His words, when taken literally. raise an interesting question for students of settlement. Did the Anglo-Normans physically take over Irish strongholds and build their own castles on them?

It would seem that several Anglo-Norman castles were either built on or near Irish strongholds. We can tell this very often simply from the placename. The word *'dun'* meaning *'fort'* appears as a prefix in Dunmore and Dunamon. and as a suffix in Rindown. Smaller manors were established at Duniry and Dunmougheme. The evidence is late, but it is hard to ignore the list of the chief seats *(bailte puirt)* of the kings of Ui Fiachrach in pre-Norman times that the seventeenth century Irish genealogist, Dualtagh Mac Firbisigh, gives the area covered being Erris and Tirawley in Co. Mayo. and Tireragh in Co. Sligo. (22) Dookeegan, the chief seat that he gives for

Erris, appears as an Anglo-Norman manor in a case before the common bench in 1318 when Matilda, the widow of Stephen son of Stephen de Exeter, sued for dower in it. (23) Three of the strongholds that Mac Firbisigh lists for Tireragh, Donaghintraine, Castleconor and Bunnina - were also held by Anglo-Normans. It is not clear that there was an Anglo-Norman manor at Donaghintraine, but it was a de Bermingham stronghold by 1249. (24) Lawsuits of the late thirteenth/ early fourteenth century show that there was a de Bermingham, and later a le Poer, town, castle, mills, church, and chapel at Castleconor, and that Buninna must have been part of the Cusack manor of Cuilcnamha which Margaret Cusack and her husband, Richard de Tuit, granted to Richard de Burgh, the Red Earl. sometime before 1306. (25) Graham has shown that Castleconor castle, 'a *stone keep of uncertain date',* was built on a small promontory in the Moy estuary that was enclosed by a fosse and a wall with a stone gatehouse, and he has suggested that Buninna castle (mentioned 1308-10) was an Anglo-Norman ringwork. (28) It would be nice to have archaeological evidence to show whether the Anglo-Norman structures at these places had Gaelic predecessors.

It would be wrong to exaggerate the use of Irish strongholds by the Anglo-Normans in Connacht, There are enough Anglo-Norman castles beginning with the prefix *'Ath'* - Athlone, Athleague, Athenry, Athmekin and Athlethan - and with the prefix :Ard' - Ardrahan, Ardnaree and Ardcree - to show that fords and high ground were important to the settlers too. Of course, some of these may have had Gaelic strongholds: Ardcree is Raith Aird Craibhi in Irish, Turlough O'Conor built a castle at Athlone. The Anglo-Normans' extensive use of Gaelic territorial

units is perhaps of some relevance here. These units dominated both the way they distributed land and their assessment of its value. What appear in the Anglo-Norman sources as cantreds, *theoda* and villates had a former life as *tricha cét, tuatha* and *bailte* in pre-Norman times. The *tricha cét* was an assessment unit rather than a territory per se. The kings of Connacht had found it useful for taxation purposes to assess the largest subkingdoms and territories in Connacht as *tricha cét. (27)* Umhall might be considered one *trieha cét,* for example, Tirawley, two. Some of these large kingdoms and territories survive today as baronies. A *tuath* was a smaller area under a petty ruler called a *dux, tigerna or taoiseach.* Where there were three or four *tuatha* in one area, that area might be considered a *tricha cét* for taxation purposes. That is why the Anglo-Normans could say that Connacht contained thirty cantreds: twenty-five in de Burgh's lordship plus the five king's cantreds. (28) That is why de Burgh could grant out cantreds and *theoda,* and call the latter half-cantreds or quarter-cantreds.(29) The *bailte,* which were the holdings of the Gaelic aristocracy, became the villates of the Anglo-Normans, and many survive today as townlands. It would seem reasonable to assume that the Anglo-Normans would take over the main Gaelic stronghold in each *bailte,* as Jordan de Exeter seems to have done at Dunkellin, in the manor of Ardrahan, Co. Galway, where he built a castle before 1240, but again it would be nice to have archaeological evidence. (30) What is clear is that in Muinter Murchada, to the east of Lough Corrib, *bailte* belonging to O'Flaherty's officers - his standard bearer, his ollamh. his headsteward. the master of his feast, the master of his horse and the keeper of his bees, became the villates of the tenants of the manor of Athmekin. (31) The O'Flahertys, and presumably their

subordinate chiefs, moved west of Lough Corrib. The Anglo-Normans attacked them there in 1248 and 1256, and we are told that they banished Rory O'Flaherty from West Connacht in 1273. (32) However, they do not seem to have been able to maintain much of a presence to the west of Lough Corrib and the O'Flahertys would ultimately prosper there.

There is a lot of evidence to show that Anglo-Norman settlement was heavy enough and effective enough to reduce the size of Irish sub-kingdoms in Connacht, but it was not extensive enough to destroy them. The Irish of the lordship of Connacht - the O'Flahertys. O'Malleys. O'Dowdas. O'Haras, O'Garas, O'Flynns, O'Maddens and O'Heynes - retained at least some of their former kingdoms, either. like the O'Conors, as tenants of the Anglo-Normans or outside the system. Some
Irish kings held a substantial part of their old kingdoms as the feudal tenants of Anglo-Norman lords. For example, Maurice fitz Gerald granted Eoghan O'Heyne, king of Ui Fiachrach, half of one of the two cantreds of Ui Fiachrach that he held of de Burgh. O'Heyne did homage to him in the court of Ardrahan, enfeoffed four people, two of whom were Irish, and received their homage. However, his relationship with fitz Gerald seems to have soured: in 1252 his holding was reduced to two villates. (33) In Umhall, Carra and other parts of Mayo, a segment of the O'Conor family, the Clann Murtough, which had intruded itself into the region before the conquest of Connacht, caused more problems for the Anglo-Norman settlers than the traditional rulers of these areas did. In 1247and 1248 members of the Clann burned what must have been the borough and the castle of Burrishoole, and in 1272 they killed Henry Butler, lord of

Umhall. and Hosty Merrick, one of the Welshmen of Tirawley. In 1273 Donal of Erris, one of the Clann who had been an ally of the Anglo-Normans, was expelled from both Umhall and Erris. (34) In the 1333 inquisition, held on the death of William de Burgh, the Brown Earl, O'Malley is listed as holding four villates of de Burgh in Umhall. (35)

The question that has to be asked about Anglo-Norman settlement in Connacht is: was it substantial enough, were conditions peaceful enough, was the soil fertile enough for the Anglo-Normans to maintain an Anglo-Norman way of life there during the thirteenth century? The answer is. I think that, for the most part, Anglo-Norman settlers were able to maintain a viable Anglo-Norman existence throughout the thirteenth century. Irish attacks took their toll and were at times severe, notably in the late 1240s, late 1250s, mid-1260s and early 1270s - the Aedh O'Conor years - but the Red Earl's presence from 1286 had a subduing effect until the Bruce invasion, when there was a massive amount of destruction. Settlements in and around the king's cantreds suffered the most attacks, and the government had difficulty attracting settlers into the southern half of the king's cantreds in the second half of the thirteenth century, when it decided to expel the king of Connacht from that area. However, there was enough of an Anglo-Norman presence there to keep the O'Conors out from the 1280s to 1315. (38)

There was undoubtedly some intermarriage between Anglo-Norman
men and Irish women, but the best known examples belong to the late thirteen/early fourteenth century: Richard de Bermingham and William Liath de Burgh, who won a big victory over the Irish at the battle of Athenry

in 1316, were both married to Finolas. (37) The common bench rolls provide little evidence of such marriages: the vast majority of wives in Connacht cases have Anglo-Norman names. While some of these women were undoubtedly Irish - Anglo-Norman names were adopted by some Irish men and women - most were probably Anglo-Norman. The eye-catching marriages of the thirteenth century are very Anglo-Norman ones. We meet poor little rich girls like Christiana de Marisco, who inherited Athmekin manor and other lands from her grandfather, Walter de Ridelsford, c: 1243, when she was about six, and who was married to her third guardian (Ebulo de Geneve) by the time she was eleven or twelve. (38) Gerald de Prendergast's daughter, Matilda, was the widow of Maurice de Rochford when she married Maurice fitz Gerald's son. Maurice, at age seventeen: another of fitz Gerald's sons, to whom she had been betrothed, had died before she was seven. (39) Perhaps the best known Anglo-Norman marriage of thirteenth century Connacht is that of Basilia, daughter of Meiler de Bermingham of Athenry, to Stephen, son of Jordan de Exeter of Athlethan. According to the fifteenth century register of the Dominican friary of Athenry, Basilia was able to persuade her husband to replace the Fransciscan friary at Athlethan with a Dominican one by threatening at a banquet to neither eat nor drink until she got her way. (40)

The Anglo-Normans, from the king downwards, made a huge investment in Connacht. Government expenditure peaked in the late 1260s to the early 1280s, when a new royal castle – Roscommon - was built and then rebuilt, and then rebuilt again, in order to confine the king of Connacht to the northern half of the king's cantreds. The final

version was the latest in military architecture, very similar to the castles Edward I was then building in Wales, with curtain walls. massive gatehouse and rounded corner towers. Expenditure was enormous. The original castle, built in 1269, seems to have cost at least £3,148-4-3. Between 1270 and 1272, a further £1.601-18-8 was spent on provisioning and defending it and the other two royal castles in Connacht and, in 1278-1279, a further £3,200-2-5 was spent on works at the three castles. (41)

We do not have any financial figures for the baronial castles in Connacht, but it is clear that Anglo-Norman lords also invested heavily in Connacht. By 1333, at least forty-five castles had been built, at least thirty of which were in stone. The royal castles have been included in these figures. but not rebuildings; however. Sligo castle was rebuilt three times, Kilcolman and Roscommon twice, and many others once. At least fifteen religious houses were founded by the Anglo-Normans in Connacht *(Dominican. Franciscan, Carmelite. Augustinian, Templar, Fratres Cruciferi and,* unique *in Ireland, Carthusian).* The Irish contribution to this building activity should not be overlooked. The register of the Dominican friary at Athenry gives a list of Irish patrons, including Felim O'Conor, king of Connacht (1233-1265), who built the refectory; Eoghan O'Heyne, mentioned above, who built the dormitory (as well as the one at John de Cogan's Franciscan friary at Claregalway); and Florence O'Flynn. archbishop of Tuam (1250-53), who built a house for scholars. Also. The annals say that Felim built Sligo castle for Maurice fitz Gerald in 1245, but they make it clear that this was not a voluntary act. (42) The Anglo-Normans established at least twenty boroughs in Connacht, were granted at least nine weekly markets and annual fairs there, and built walls around at least five towns, those at Athenry being particularly impressive. (43)

Watermills were probably set up at all manorial centres – there are numerous references to them - and a windmill was built at the royal borough of Rindown in the 1270s. Sometimes mills were set up at two locations within the same manor: e.g .. at both Loughrea and at Toolooban in the manor of Loughrea. Occasionally there was more than one mill in a town, suggesting the use of waterpower for other purposes besides grinding grain. There seem to have been fulling mills at the royal town of Athlone. and brewing mills are at least a possibility. Ale was made at Athlone (where there is a reference to a kiln) and in de Burgh's manors of Loughrea, Meelick, Portumna. and Ballintober. (44)

The Anglo-Normans expected to make a profit from their manors in Connacht. The thirteenth century was, after all, a time of great manorial prosperity. De Burgh would not have gained much if he had granted out all of his 25 cantreds for the 20 marks rent and service of 2 knights that he demanded from each of the cantreds that he did grant out. (435) He would have ended up with the service of 50 knights - 30 more than he owed the king - but with only 500 marks rent, just enough to pay his own rent to the king. Obviously, where he hoped to make a profit was from the manors that he invested his time, money and effort in.

The inquisition taken on the death of the Brown Earl in 1333. suggests that de Burgh's manors in Connacht conformed to the classic Anglo-Norman type, especially Loughrea, with its pigeon-house and enclosed park with wild beasts. The acreage under the lord's

plough was either average (about 300 acres) or above average for Ireland: (46) 570 acres at Toolooban and 360 acres at Camclon (in the manor of Loughrea), 480 acres at Monbally (Meelick), 360 acres at Kilcorban (Portumna), and 300 acres at Ballintober. Another type of revenue were the rents paid to de Burgh by the various tenants on his manors burgesses,
free tenants, tenants-at-will, gavillers. Cottagers and betaghs. However. betaghs are found only in the manor of Meelick. Where, in addition to rent, they paid 20 shillings and 15 shillings annually for 200 harvestmen and 120 beasts carrying corn. Hired labour would seem to have replaced labour service. The lord's right to charge his tenants for using his equipment and resources provided another source of manorial revenue, and it tells us about economic activities. On de Burgh's manors, the profits of the mill indicate cereal cultivation: prisage of ale indicates brewing: profits of the bakery, bread-making; pannage, pig-rearing; fisheries and weirs, fishing. Ferries also provided income at Portunma, as they did in the royal boroughs of Rindown and Athlone. (47)

Stallage (the renting of stalls) at Loughrea indicates a market, yet there is no evidence of a royal grant to hold one there. In fact, such grants were not always obtained, and other towns in Connacht, especially the boroughs, probably had markets and fairs. Certainly, boroughs, markets and fairs were key elements in both international trade and the local economy. They provided local landholders. from the lord of the manor down, with a market for their agricultural produce and livestock and thus with the means to buy the products of local industry and the international merchandise available within them. We know what kind of goods were brought into and sold in the boroughs of

Galway and Dunmore in the 1270s, because of the murage that was levied on these items: wine, salt, wool, cloth, hides, skins of goats and lambs, herrings and other types of fish at Galway; cloth, iron, wheat, oats, horses, cows, sheep, herrings, hides, skins of goats and lambs at Dunmore. (48) Anglo-Norman towns played a crucial role in the development of a money economy in Connacht, though there already had been some movement in that direction. Turlough O'Conor had established a mint at Clonmacnoise, and, in 1231, just before the conquest of Connacht, Cormac MacDermot began to stablish a market town at Rockingham on the southern shore of Lough Key. (49) Irish interest in markets and fairs, promoted mostly by monasteries in pre-Norman Times, (50) continued under the Anglo-Normans. In 1260, Tomaltach O'Conor, archbishop of Tuam, was granted an annual fair at Tuam, and in 1279 the prior and convent of Roscommon were granted ·their weekly free market' at the
Irish town in Roscommon. (51)

It is difficult to say to what extent other manors in Connacht resembled de Burgh's. The 1289 extent of the Geraldine manor of Ardrahan, Co. Galway, shows that demesne cultivation was important, that mills, fisheries, and weirs were all sources of revenue, and that there was a forest for hunting. However, there were only burgesses and free tenants on the manor. This indicates that lords found it difficult to attract the lower ranks of Anglo-Norman society into Connacht. Also, in addition to 11 carucates of arable and pasture, several entire villates are said to have been held in demesne, but such large areas were probably let to Irish tenants. In the 1289 extent of Sligo, the villates held in demesne do not seem to have been used at all - no value is

given - and here again the only tenants were burgesses and free tenants. (52) However, Sligo was one of the most besieged Anglo-Norman settlements in Connacht, a victim of both O'Donnell and O'Conor attacks. It would certainly be wrong to assume that grain could not grow so far north. Corn was grown extensively in Anglo-Norman Tireragh, Co. Sligo, and around the Mayo of the Saxons and Turlough. Co. Mayo. in pre-Norman times. (53)

Anglo-Norman settlement was not as heavy in Connacht as in other parts of the Lordship of Ireland. A lot of land remained in Irish hands both outside the manors and within them. Also, there were settlements around the king's cantreds that suffered numerous Gaelic attacks. However, there was relatively heavy and secure Anglo-Norman settlement from east of Galway Bay to Killala Bay. This core was where some of the best land was. Anglo-Norman Connacht was prosperous in the thirteenth century. It was a source of revenue for both the king and de Burgh. Between 1272 and 1280 the escheator accounted for £2,210-9-2 that he received from the lordship of Connacht while it was in the king's hand; and the Red Earl made what look like regular payments of his rent into the exchequer after he came of age in 1280 until 1299. (54) The 1333 inquisition *post mortem* says that the old value of the lordship of Connacht was £2081-9-21/2 and that its value in 1333 was £661-0-63/4 i.e. less than one-third of its former value. (55)

The decline and the Gaelicisation that occur in the fourteenth century may have started in the thirteenth century, but they were essentially fourteenth century developments. The thirteenth century was essentially a time of Normanisation. In the thirteenth century Anglo-Norman barons, burgesses and other settlers established castles, religious houses, manors, towns and a more fully developed money economy in Connacht - a process that contributed to Connacht's rich cultural heritage.

HELEN PERROS
DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
NORTH CAROLINA STATE
UNIVERSITY

Notes

1. *C{alendar of]* D[ocuments *Relating to]* I[reland],* ed. H.S. Sweetman (London, 1875-86) I. nos 2189,2217,2218.

2. *(The)A{nnals of]* C[lonnacht],* ed. AM. Freeman (Dublin. 1994) pp 51-67; *C{alendar of] J[usticiary] R{olls, Ireland].* ed. J. Mills (Dublin, 1905-14) II. p. 133.

3. *{The] A{nnals of] Clon{macnotse].* ed. D. Murphy (Dublin. 1896) p. 235.

4. Athmekin castle was built by 1246: CD!I. no. 2810; Shrule castle by 1244: E. Curtis. 'Feudal charters of the de Burgo lordship of Connacht. 1237-1325'. Feilsgribhinn *EOin Mhic Neill,* ed. J. Ryan (Dublin, 1940) no. XV.

5. *AC* p.149

6. *{The Genealogies.] Tribes and* Customs *of Hy-Fiachrach,* ed. J. O'Donovan. (Dublin. 1844) p.330. note a.

7. R.E. Glasscock, 'Mottes in Ireland', *Chdteau-Gaillard 7* (Caen. 1975) p.97; P, Holland, 'the Anglo-Normans in Co. Galway: the process of colonization'. *J{ournal oJ the] G{alway]*

A{rchaeological and] H[istorical] S[ociety] 41 (1987-88) pp 85-86; idem. 'Anglo-Norman Galway; rectangular earthworks and moated sites', ibid. 46 (1994) p.204; idem, The Anglo-Normans and their castles in county Galway' in *Galway. History & Society.* ed,
G. Moran et. al. (Dublin, 1996) pp 3-7.

8. CD! 1. no. 2908; *36th R[eport of the] D[eputy] K{eeper of the Public* Records in *Ireland]* p. 63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw. 1;
G. H. Orpen, 'Richard de Burgh and the conquest of Connaught'. *JGAHS* 7 (1911-12) p.130; M.J. Gardiner & P. Ryan, 'A new generalized soil map of Ireland and its land -use interpretation'. *Irish Journal of Agricultural Research* 8 (1969) pp 100. 105.

9. G.H. Orpen. *{Ireland Under the] Normans.* (Oxford. 191120) III. pp 190-224.

10. G.H. Orpen. 'Notes on the Bermingham pedigree', *JGAHS* 9(1916) pp 197-98.

11. E. Curtis. 'Original documents relating to the Butler lordship of Achill. Burrishoole and Aughrim (1236-1640)'. *JGAHS* 15 (1931-33) pp 121-28; Orpen. *Normans* Ill. p. 35. note 2. pp 201-2. 209-11.

12. CD!II. no. 250; 'Historia let genealogial familiae de Burgo'. *JGAHS* 13 (1924-27) p.135; H.G. Leask, *Irish Castles and* Castellated Houses (Dundalk, 1973) p.72; A Gwynn & R.N. Hadcock. *Medieval Religious* Houses. *Ireland* (London. 1970) p.230; 'Annales de Monte Fernandi'. ed. A. Smith. *Tracts Relating* to *Ireland.* II (Dublin. 1842) pp v-26.

13. AC pp 99. 127; *AClon.* pp 239. 241-42.

14. Orpen. *Normans* Ill. pp 217-19.

15. J.F. Lydon. 'The years of crisis'. in *{A] N{ew] Hlistory of]I[reland]* I1,ed. A Cosgrove (Oxford. 1987) pp 182-84. 187-88.

16. S. Painter. *The Reign oJKing John* (Baltimore. 1949) pp 25, 84-86. 123.

17. Orpen, 'Richard de Burgh'. *JGAHS* 7 (1911-12) p.130.

18. Painter. op. cit .. pp 327-28; J.C. Holt. *Magna Carta*(Cambridge. 1969) pp 156-66.

19. AC p.79; *CDIl.* no. 2636; Orpen. 'Richard de Burgh. op. cit. p. 131.

20. Ibid. pp 129-30; M.J. Blake, 'William de Burgh. Progenitor of the Burkes in Ireland'. *JGAHS* 7 (1911- 12) pp 99-101.

21. *Irish Bardic Poetry:* texts *and* translations, *together with an introductory* lecture *by* Osbom *Bergin,* ed. D. Greene & F. Kelly (Dublin. 1970) pp 88-92. 252-54. I should like to thank Maire Cruise O'Brien for helping me with this poem.

22. Tribes and Customs *of Hy-Fiachrach,* pp 172-75.

23. H.T. Knox. *The History of the County of Mayo,* to *the* close *of the sixteenth century* (Dublin. 1908), p.309. Castlemore and Castlekirk, Co. Mayo, were built near Irish forts. Ibid.. p.104. *24. ACp.99.*

25. NAIRC7/3. p.157 - Common Bench Roll 19 Edw. 1; RC7/4 pp 123-23,491-93 - Common Bench Roll 24-25 Edward I; RC7/ 11. pp 229-30 - Common Bench Roll 34-5 Edw. 1; RC7/13. p.49 - Common Bench Roll I Edw. II *CJR* II, pp 65-66. See also H.T.

Knox. The Bermingham Family of Athenry'
JGAHS 10 (1917-18) pp 141-43.

26. B.J. Graham. 'Medieval timber and
earthwork fortifications in western Ireland'.
Medieval Archaeology 32 (1988) pp 123-24.

27. *Annals oJthe Kingdom oJIreland by the*
Four Masters. ed. J. O'Donovan (Dublin.
1854) Ill. pp 86-87; J. Hogan. 'The
tricha cet and related land-measures'.
*Pro{eedings of the]R{oyal] I[rishf
A(cademy]* 38C (1929) pp 148-235.

28. *35th R[eport D{eputy] K{eeperll,* pp 37,
47 - Pipe Rolls 19 & 51 Hen. III: *AC* pp 56,
66.

29. *36th* RDK.p.63 - Pipe Roll 10 Edw. I;
Curtis. 'Feudal charters of the de Burgo
lordship', op. cit. in note 4 above.
nos XXI, XXIII,

30. De Exeter also held the villate of
Roevehagh, where Turlough O'Conor had
fortress: *{The] Red Book of {the Earls of]*
Kildare, ed. G. Mac Niocaill (Dublin. 1964)
p. 55 and no. 191: P. Holland. The Anglo-
Normans in Co. Galway; the process of
colonization'. *JGAHS* 41 (1987-88)
p.74. For recent works on the classification
of earthworks in Connacht and eslewhere,
see: P. Holland. op. cit. in note 7 above; B.J.
Graham. op.cit. in note 26 above; idem.
'Medieval settlement in County Roscommon'.
Proc *RIA BBC (19BB)* pp 19-38; M. Herity,
'Motes and mounds at royal sites in Ireland',
*J{ournal of the] R[oyal] S[ociety of]
A(ntiquaries of] I{reland]* 123 (1993) pp
127-151.

31. *A Chorographical Description of West or
H-Iar Connaught* written *A.D.* 1684 *by
Roderic O'Flaherty,* ed. J. Hardiman

(Dublin, 1846) pp 368-72; *CDIl.* no. 2810: II
nos 1801. 2340.

32. *AC.* pp 95. 123, 161.

33. *Red Book of* Kildare, no. 67.

34. *AC.* pp 92-95, 159-61; *AClon,* p. 238.

35. H.T, Knox 'Occupation of Connaught by
the Anglo-Normans after AD. 1237'
JRSA133 (1903) p.58.

36. H. Walton, 'The English in Connacht.
1171-1333'. Unpublished Ph,D. Thesis, TCD
(1980) pp 466-87.

37. NAIBetham's Genealogical Extracts:
Misc. Collection I. p.48; 'Regestum
(Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatoruml de
Athenry'. *Archivium Hibemicum* 1(1912)
p.212.

38. CD!*I.* nos 2645, 2689, 2810, 2863, 2947,
2971-72; I1, no. 144.

39. Orpen. Normans Ill. pp 198-99.

40. 'Regestum de Athenry', op. cit .. pp 204-
5.

41. TCD MS 671. fol. 36v - Pipe Roll 54
Hen. Ill; BMAdd. MS 4789. fol. 290 - Pipe
Roll 53 Hen. Ill; CDIll. no. 890, p. 147; 36th
RDK, p. 48 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. I See also S.
Harbison. 'Rindown castle: a royal fortress in
Co.
Roscommon'. *JGAHS* 47 (1995).

42. J. Watt. *The Church in Medieval Ireland*
(Dublin. 1972) p.64; AC. p85.

43. Lists cannot be given here due to lack of
space. but are available upon request. For

published lists and other valuable information. see C.J. Lynn 'Some 13th-centul)' castle sites in the west of Ireland: note on a preliminary reconnaissance'. *JGAHS* 40 (1985-86) pp 90-111; P. Holland. op. cit. in note 7 above; B.J. Graham. op. cit. in note 30 above; Gwynn & Hadcock. op. cit. in note 12 above; G. Martin. 'Plantation boroughs in medieval Ireland. with a hand list of boroughs to c.1500'. *The Town in Ireland* ed. D. Harkness & M. O'Dowd. Historical Studies XIII (1979) pp 23-53; J. Bradley. 'Planned AngloNorman towns in Ireland' in *The Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe,* ed. H.B. Clarke & A. Simms (Oxford. 1985) pp 411 - 67; A. Thomas. The Walled Towns of Ireland (Worchester. 1992) 2 vols. An examination of the Anglo-Norman contribution to Connacht's parochial development was not possible here, but see K.W. Nicholls, 'RectoI)', vicarage and parish in the western Irish dioceses', *JRSAI* 101 (1971) pp 53-84.

44. J. A. Claffey, 'Rindoon windmill tower'. *Irish Midland Studies* ed. H. Murtagh (Athlone. 1980) pp 84-88; Knox. 'Occupation of Connaught', *JRSAI32* (1902) pp 135-36. 394-95; 33 (1903) p. 60; 'The Irish pipe roll of 14 John', ed. O. Davies & D. B. Quinn Ulster *Journal of Archaelogy* 4 Supplement (1941) p. 39.

45. *Calendar of the Gormanston Register,* ed J. Mills & M.J. McEnery (Dublin, 1916) pp 143. 191; *Red Book oJ*Kildare. no.23; *CJR* 1. pp 227-28.

46. K. Down. 'Colonial society and economy in the high middle ages', *NHIIl.* p. 460.

47. Knox. 'Occupation of Connaught', *JRSAI* 32 (1902) pp 133-36. 393-98; 33 (1903) pp 58-61; *38th RDK.* p. 54 Pipe Roll 29 Edw.l.

48. *36th. RDK,* pp 47-48 - Pipe Roll 8 Edw. I; J. Hardiman. *The History of the Town* and *County of the Town of Galway* (Galway. 1820) pp 53-54.

49. *A. Clon.* p.214.

50. C. Doherty. 'Exchange and trade in early medieval Ireland'. *JRSAI* 110 (1980) pp 80-85; idem. *The monastic town in early medieval Ireland' in* The *Comparative History of Urban Origins in Non-Roman Europe,* ed. H.B. Clarke & A. Simms (Oxford. 1985) pp 45-75. For a possibly more active royal role. Sec. J. Bradley. 'Killaloe: a pre-Norman borough?'. *Peritia* 8 (1994) pp 170-79.

51. CDI11,nos 672. 2008.

52. *Red Book oJ Kildare,* nos 60. 129.

53. *AC.* pp 63. 147.

54. *CD!*Ill. nos 149. 309. 403. 475, 1148. IV no. 587.

55. TCD 1060. p. 214- Inq.P.M. 7 Edw. Ill. [An expanded version of this paper was read to the annual conference of the *Group for the Study of Irish Historic Settlement* in Westport. Co. Mayo on 11th May 1996]